

America

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A CATHOLIC REVIEW OF THE WEEK

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WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Women who have waited

EDITOR: I think that the question most of the "women who wait" ask is *not*: "How is she to reconcile these apparent contradictions in her life, see God's providence working through it all, and develop a genuine sense of a lay vocation to which she can dedicate her life?" (AM. 6/18). Rather, *why* is she waiting when there are so many eligible bachelors? Granted that numerically there are not enough men to go around, still there are a great many who *could* go around but *don't*.

I am sick and tired of the attitude that single women are "problems" that have to be "solved," and of the failure ever to consider the responsibility of men in this matter. Most of the "women who wait" are capable of making the necessary adjustment. Those who are busying themselves with our "problems" are confusing our distaste for the situation with discontent, and are consequently treating the wrong patients. We know what to do with our "unwanted celibacy"; liking it is another thing. It is the men who don't know what to do, who need the injections. It seems to me that if spiritual writers, clergy and laity worried less about the poor old maid and what will become of her and tried to find out what's wrong with the modern American bachelor, there would be fewer "women who wait." Maybe *they* are waiting to be asked?

PORTIA

Roxbury, Mass.

EDITOR: I take it that the Editor's correspondent in "The woman who waits" (AM. 6/18) is an American woman, and that her "waiting" friends are Americans too. Now, here in the U.S., there are enough men to go around, and while not all American women have had an opportunity to marry *suitably*, it is a rare woman who has had no opportunity at all. The woman who could have married, but chose not to marry unsuitably, must pay the price of rebels who do not conform to the patterns of society and nature, uncongenial as those patterns may sometimes seem—and the price is getting heavier than it has been in the last few decades. The situation in Europe is, of course, another matter, and one that must concern us deeply.

Here in the United States, however, the problem of the unmarried woman is in many respects the problem of the breadwinner, man or woman. It may be more of a problem for a woman, since women have been reared in the expectation of marriage, with its emotional and creative satisfactions.

Since most women don't give up the hope of marrying until they are forty—if

then—it is the woman of forty who concerns us. And it is not only "old maids" of forty who face problems. There are widows—women seem to be outliving their husbands. There are married women who have to augment the family income. These three groups, combined, make up the unprecedented number of American women working for a living.

Today, the old maid may be out of a job even though she started working twenty years ago, with the full expectation of staying in the original position. Many businesses went under in the depression; more small businesses folded during the war. The widow, even though she may have an insurance policy and savings, finds them cut in two by inflation.

The outlook for these women of forty and over today—and there are millions of them—is pretty grim. Go to an employment agency. No registrations over thirty-five. Why? Well, for one thing, the pension system. The same restriction applies in many schools.

As a result of this penalty on maturity, hundreds of thousands of women (and men) of truly superior education, of the seasoned judgment that can be acquired only through living and experience, of personable appearance and refinement, are working as file clerks, typists, saleswomen, even charwomen and cooks. A lot of them, of course, can get no work at all; they have been relegated to the old-time role of poor relation, or are living on relief. Deprived of creative outlets while the country is deprived of their social and economic values, they grind out their dreary days, facing nervous collapse and destitution.

What can the churches, the social agencies, do to stop this waste and tragedy? For the long stretch, they can aim to restore an appreciation of the cultural values, the special skills and the social sense these presently unwanted people can contribute—or let's stop educating people.

Right now, they can face and teach some unpleasant facts while preparing girls for life. They can point out that marriage is not a guarantee of economic security. They can recognize the fact that even here in the United States we are becoming increasingly cogs in government and industrial machines, that less and less can the average person look forward to the satisfactions of the artisan and creator in his employment. Today, they can admit, education is no open sesame to economic advance. A cultivated mind must be its own reward.

If we are prepared, we may suffer less when the reality hits us.

New York, N. Y.

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CONTENTS

America July 2, 1949

Current Comment..... 389

Washington Front..Wilfrid Parsons 393

UnderscoringsC. K. 393

Editorials 394

Socialism in American education

Mr. Dewey and Africa

Progress at Paris?

Probe of gasoline prices

Business realists

Articles

Beran of Prague..... 397
Edward Duff, S.J.

The Church-State problem in Utah 398
Robert F. Drinan

Why the press lost face..... 400
Edward Fischer

Literature and Arts..... 402

Sigrid Undset: heir of the Volsungs
Charles A. Brady

Books.....Reviewed by

Nineteen Eighty-Four..... 404
Charles Keenan

The Rise of Russia in Asia..... 404
Leonard J. Schweitzer

A Diplomatic Incident..... 405
Catherine D. Gause

From the Editor's shelves..... 405

The Word.....Joseph A. Breig 406

Parade.....John A. Toomey 407

Films.....Maira Walsh 408

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Uncle Sam spruces up

When the old gentleman in Washington was a boy, Alexander Hamilton gave him some good advice. "The true test of a good government," he wrote in *The Federalist*, "is its aptitude and tendency to produce a good administration." With the signing by President Truman, on June 20, of the Reorganization Act of 1949, the road is open for the most far-reaching improvements in Federal administration since 1789. The President lost no time in submitting seven reorganization "plans," to take effect automatically within sixty days, unless either house of Congress exercises its power of veto. No. 1 sets up a Department of Welfare to take over the functions of the Federal Security Agency. FSA itself was set up in 1939 to supplant the old Social Security Board. The reasons for establishing a tenth executive department (unification of the armed services reduced the number to nine) are convincing. Presidents Harding and Roosevelt both favored this first addition to the cabinet since Commerce and Labor were separated in 1913. The Hoover Commission made the same recommendation. The new Department of Welfare will be responsible for "the conservation and development of the human resources of the nation." It will take over social security, education and health. Plan No. 2 will transfer from FSA its present employment-service and unemployment-compensation activities, placing them in the Department of Labor. Governor Dewey's 1944 campaign speech on the dispersion of Federal agencies dealing with labor had something to do with that change. Mr. Truman concedes that the way various labor programs have been "scattered" amounted to an "undesirable" trend. The other five plans look to increased efficiency and long-range economy in the post-office, the Executive Office of the President, the Civil Service Commission, the U. S. Maritime Commission and the Public Roads Commission. Other improvements await congressional legislation, and more Presidential plans are forthcoming.

Senators want it both ways

The so-called "economy drive" launched many weeks ago by a group of U. S. Senators has fizzled in inglorious fashion. It began with a brave slicing of 5 per cent from one appropriation bill, quickly followed by a restoration of the cut. The gentlemen quickly saw that the only way to reduce appropriations was on selected items. So they came up with talk about an "adjusted" cut. Meanwhile the Senate kept adding hundreds of millions of dollars to House appropriation bills. With a prospective \$3-billion budget deficit staring them in the face, the economizers figured they had to do something "sensational." So the Committee on Executive Expenditures, by a vote of 8-2, adopted a resolution "directing" the President to reduce the amount finally appropriated by from 5 to 10 per cent, with a maximum cut of 20 per cent at any one point. This seems to be the best that Senators Byrd, Russell, Wherry, Taft, McClellan, Tydings and Ferguson can do. Senator Wherry, indeed, is elated by this demonstration of "teamwork" and "constructive action." Of course, even if the Senate approves this resolution, the

CURRENT COMMENT

President can veto it. He probably will. After all, he submitted a budget which would balance. He took the political onus of proposing a \$4-billion tax increase to make it balance. The Senators lack either the intelligence or the courage to propose a budget of their own which will balance. They vote for the President's expenditures—because they see they are necessary or at least politically popular—but they shrink from the tax increase because *that* is naturally quite unpopular. So they try to squirm out of their corner by appropriating \$3 billion more than they are willing to raise by taxation, and then "directing" the President to shave off the difference from their appropriations. They are trying to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds—a somewhat silly performance for old campaigners like themselves.

Hammering out a labor law

First came the speeches—eloquent discourses on the philosophy of industrial relations—strongly favoring either the Wagner Act or the Taft-Hartley Act. This time-consuming preliminary over, the Senate got down to the serious business of writing labor-management legislation for 1949. The Administration strategy was evident at once. In rapid succession four amendments were offered to S. 249—the original Thomas-Lesinski bill—and pushed through by voice vote with practically no opposition. The changes, designed to win wavering votes among liberal Republicans and the less reactionary among the Southern Democrats, did these things:

1. Obligated unions as well as employers to bargain collectively.
2. Guaranteed "free speech" to employers provided they made no threats of reprisal or offers of favors to their employees.
3. Required unions, management and management associations to file financial statements with the National Labor Relations Board.
4. Stipulated that management and union officers should take non-communist and non-fascist oaths as a condition for using NLRB facilities, with the exception that officers of organizations which bar Communists and Fascists in their constitutions need not sign.

Thereupon the real fight began. Senators Douglas and Aiken introduced an amendment providing for government seizure of plants in "national emergency" strikes. As a compromise between those who wanted both in-

junctions and seizure and those who wanted neither, this proposal persuaded nobody, and was beaten by a top-heavy vote. The Senate also turned down another proposal, sponsored by Senator Ives, which would have permitted Congress to decide what was to be done whenever an emergency strike impended. This means that both extremes have refused to compromise. They plainly want a showdown, and insist that the test must come on the provision in the new law dealing with emergency strikes. This is a distressing development.

Give the FBI a big hand

Far from reassuring was President Truman's recent tepid approval of J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI. Whatever grounds for complaint the Committee on Un-American Activities may give Mr. Truman, similar suspicions are certainly not justified in the case of the FBI. In order to substantiate this opinion, let's get a few facts straight. The FBI does not prosecute anybody. It only investigates. Prosecution is done by the Department of Justice, headed by the Attorney General. Second, the FBI does not seek to publicize its findings of subversive activities. Like every police force which hopes to accomplish anything, it keeps a file on possible offenders. So long as these tips are kept secret, nobody suffers any harm. The history of the FBI proves that it does not hunt headlines, but tries its best to avoid them. In the Coplon case, it was the court, and not the FBI, which demanded exposure of the secret information. The judge apparently thought that if the United States Government wants to prosecute a person for espionage, it must open its secrets to everybody, including our potential enemies. At any rate, the blame for "smearing" cannot be charged to the FBI. We cannot hope to keep communist termites from boring from within our Government without a highly efficient insect exterminator. The FBI is our best agent for this nasty job, and the testimony in the Trial of the Twelve shows that it is a very good one. The President should give J. Edgar Hoover a more enthusiastic hand.

Meat prices

Many a housewife was angry last month when she visited the butcher. She found that for the most part meat prices had gone up again and were just about where they were two years ago. While the information may not be very consoling—and will certainly not stretch the housewife's meat dollar any further—here are the Department of Agriculture's explanations of the recent rise in prices.

The nation is eating more meat today than it did before the war. In 1938 the per capita consumption of meat was 126 pounds; this year it will be about 146 pounds. The supply of meat, however, has not kept pace with this increased demand. Stockmen figured that demand would be down after the war and accordingly cut their herds and flocks. Excluding dairy cows, cattle numbered 54 million head on January 1, which was about 4 million below the high level of 1944. Hogs were down from 83 million head in 1944 to 57 million head. The number of sheep dropped from 49 million in 1942 to 32 million. With demand pressing on supply, the natural result is higher prices. The experts in the Agricultural Department offer another observation. Bumper grain crops have encouraged production of high-grade meat. Animals are going to market at heavier weights, which means more choice-grade meats—and higher prices—and less commercial grade. Since the cattle population cannot be increased overnight, it may be some time before housewives can buy a steak or roast at what they consider reasonable prices. So long as the market determines price, the answer lies, of course, in boosting the size of herds and flocks. To this extent, at least, Secretary Brannan is on the right track. His plan for stabilizing farm income would lead the country's farmers to concentrate on meat and dairy products.

The Birmingham beatings

The recent violence that flared up in the South, in what the headlines take as a Southern tradition, may well puzzle the casual reader. Nine distinct whippings of eleven persons in two weeks certainly are not a matter for pride. When perpetrated by hoodlums masked in bed-sheets and pillow-cases, they make the disgrace worse. To keep the perspective clear for both outside and native observers, however, it should be noted that these beatings all took place in the Birmingham, Ala., area, chiefly in a mining district some twenty miles to the northwest of that city. Also, a point which affords comfort (perhaps not to the *Daily Worker*), no Negroes figured in the violence. Reaction to the mob activity was quick in Birmingham itself. A mass meeting of civic, business, religious and patriotic groups to consider means to aid the police restore order and security was called by a Baptist minister. Full reports went to the FBI at Washington. A bill to outlaw hooded bands went through the Alabama Senate, with strong hope that the lawless outbreaks would hasten its enactment by the House. The Governor and the Attorney General, in a denunciation of the crimes, both called for the legislation. Editorial writers on Southern dailies blushed over the incidents, demanded an end. Sensational publicity, they knew, could obscure such accomplishment as the hiring of 279 Negro policemen in 54 Southern cities, wider effort to integrate Negro workers, admission of Negroes to the Universities of Oklahoma, Arkansas and Kentucky, coalition of Negro and white veteran voters in Georgia and Arkansas cities to oust the political rings, suffrage improvement all over the South, growth in tolerance among students, Catholic and secular, the voters' lukewarm response to the Dixiecrats.

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The "feel" of democracy

Every visitor to the United States must be prepared to stand and deliver an answer to the point-blank question "How do you like it here?" The spontaneous, honest answers given June 19 by six young German students who have been studying in American Catholic colleges and universities the past year under the sponsorship of the National Catholic Welfare Conference are especially significant. For some years they knew us as an enemy nation which obliterated their cities with bombs. Yet each of the six felt impressed by the truly human relationships they saw functioning in and around their Catholic schools. They found people more friendly, more generous, less conscious of class division, more polite and more helpful than they had expected. The absence of hate for Germans as recent foes astonished them. All agreed that the German people must be re-educated and one recommended the start be made in the nursery school. Germans need to travel as much as other people, for today nationalisms are out of date, and only contact with other lands can build true democracy. The students found democracy hard to define but not so difficult to "feel." Could democracy be applied to their homeland? They hardly saw an answer. German youth are reported to be quite indifferent to political theory today—they have been fed up with so many promises, including the Russian, that they wonder whether American democracy holds out any tangible pledge to them. If hundreds and thousands more of these future leaders of German thought could "feel" democracy, the difficult question might be easier to answer.

Overselling "planned parenthood"

The aim of "planned parenthood" is that married couples should have only as many children as they can support and educate at a high standard of living. The theory backfires because those best able to support and educate their children refuse to have large enough families to reproduce themselves. Less well-educated and poorer people actually bear the burden of rearing children much more unselfishly than the élite. This dilemma of the planners is highlighted by the findings of the Population Reference Bureau in Washington. This Bureau surveyed the population statistics of the college graduates of 1924 in 176 colleges. To the 54,000 men and 26,000 women who graduated twenty-five years ago, only 45,000 sons and 15,500 daughters have been born. These 80,000 graduates have therefore brought into this world only 60,500 children. Graduates of Western and coeducational institutions produced the larger families. This pattern of failure on the part of people enjoying the highest standard of living to shoulder their social responsibility in rearing families is so uniform, at least in "advanced" industrial societies, as to constitute one of the few certain conclusions of sociology. The Royal Commission on Population reported in London, after five years of study, that "the average size of families of professional and administrative workers is about 1.6; that of general laborers is more than double." Even with the larger birth-rate of the poorer classes, however, Britain's families, averag-

ing 2.2 children, are falling 6 per cent below what is necessary to maintain a stable population. Two forceful conclusions must be drawn: 1) the democracies cannot survive without more children, especially in the so-called "upper" classes; and 2) the "boy for you and a girl for me" ideal of an American family is a sure way of going out of business.

Religious liberty: Sweden and Switzerland

While religion is being oppressed in the East of Europe, it is consoling to find it honored and liberated in the West. The influx of large numbers of Catholic and other refugees into Sweden, as well as the increase of student exchange, has helped to liberalize sentiment in that country towards the status of non-Lutheran churches. Far-reaching steps in that direction are incorporated in a bill which is to be introduced into Parliament next year. It is said to be one of the most comprehensive measures recommended since the Lutheran Church became the established state church in the sixteenth century. The new legislation would permit a Swedish citizen to leave the state church without having to reveal which denomination he wished to join. Persons not members of the state church would be relieved of paying one-half the fees now imposed for covering the state clergy's civic work. In the Government, only the Minister of Church and School and such Ministers without portfolios as have to do with church and school matters must still be Lutheran adherents. Catholic convents and monasteries, forbidden in Sweden since the Reformation, may again be established "to maintain the principle of religious freedom." In Switzerland, a motion was laid before the Federal Diet last March inquiring about the practical provisions governing the exclusion of Jesuits from Switzerland. Protestant complaints that the provisions were not being observed were met by assurances from Catholic sources. Dr. Franz Hostenstein, chairman of the Catholic Conservative group in the Swiss Federal Diet, expressed the hope that conditions would improve and that discretion would be used in the application of the anti-Jesuit law. The Socialists, however, demanded a strict enforcement. In this, as in many other instances of late in Europe's politics, European Socialists injure their own cause by their rigid adherence to an outmoded anti-clericalism.

Religious liberty: Germany

As the picture shapes up in Europe, it looks as if the common resistance to totalitarianism would be sacrificed to the inbred prejudices of the old-line anti-clericals. In Germany, wrote Walter Dirks, leading Catholic journalist, in the *Frankfurter Hefte* for April, 1949, there have been three Kulturkamps. In the first, that of Bismarck, Catholics defended their civil rights and free press against a united front of economic liberals, the omnipotent Prussian State and militant Protestantism. In the second, the socialist workers defended their own freedoms against some of these same elements. In the third instance, Socialists and Catholics, along with some of the Liberals and Protestants, joined forces in resisting the Nazis. "But hitherto there has never been a Kulturkampf

between Christians and Socialists in Germany." Dr. Kurt Schumacher, head of the German Social Democrats, seems to be seeking the unenviable distinction of fathering the fourth of these internecine conflicts. In his discussion of the new Bonn Constitution for Western Germany, at Munich on June 16, he was not content with reminding his hearers that the Constitution does not provide recognition of the German Concordat with the Holy See. He renewed his attacks upon Cardinal Frings and again denied the right of parents to determine the choice of schools for their children, a right upon which the Germany hierarchy strongly insists. The Church is free, insisted Schumacher, and there is no question of "Christ vs. Karl Marx." When the train has left the tracks, in the view of Dr. Dirks, it is no time for mutual name-calling, and he does not spare some Catholic leaders from blame for their lack of a conciliatory attitude. With the influx of millions of refugees, Germany's "train" is completely derailed; and most of Europe's is scraping badly on the tracks. It is time for a repair crew of intelligent thinkers in both camps to put bigoted mischief-makers like Kurt Schumacher in their proper place.

Intransigent Israel

The UN Palestine Conciliation Commission, appointed last December 11, convened at Lausanne, Switzerland, on April 27 in an effort to translate an uneasy armistice into a stable peace. Two months of activity have contributed not a single measure of agreement that can be reported to the General Assembly session which opens at Flushing Meadows on September 20. The Arabs have insisted that the plight of the refugees be considered first by the Commission. Israel refuses to discuss the repatriation of any of the refugees except as part of a general peace settlement. The offer of Dr. Chaim Weizmann to take back 100,000 refugees was promptly disclaimed by the Tel Aviv government on May 6. Israel did, however, indicate her willingness on May 21 to take back 230,000 refugees in return for the Gaza coastal strip, territory awarded the Arab State of Palestine by the UN Partition Resolution of November 29, 1947. Pressure from the American State Department, urging Israel to make concessions, drew a rancorous reply from Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett in an address to the Parliament on June 15. The note from our State Department is said to have reminded the Israeli Government that the new state had not carried out the terms of a UN resolution adopted last December which provided that all Palestine Arab refugees who wanted to return to their homes and live in peace should be allowed to do so. Mr. Sharett declared that the UN Partition Resolution has been rendered invalid by the test of war. Probably he judges that the UN resolution of last December has been rendered invalid by the unconditional admission of Israel to the family of nations. The refugees being cared for by the UN Relief for Palestine program number 940,000, according to Secretary Trygve Lie, who appealed on June 3 for more funds. No progress was made by the Conciliation Committee on the topic of territorial adjustments, Israel being determined to keep what it has won by arms.

War as an instrument of policy

The international status of Jerusalem was scarcely mentioned in the Conciliation Commission sessions. Israel's suggestion of partitioning the Holy City between Arabs and Jews, with some vague international agency overseeing unspecified shrines, was unsatisfactory to the Archbishop of York, Dr. Cyril Garbett, who called for the full implementation of the original UN decision in an address in the House of Lords on June 9. The Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem has written: "One is justified in claiming that internationalization is desired by the overwhelming majority of the Christians of the world." No other solution is acceptable to the Catholic Church, said *Il Quotidiano* of Rome on June 6. Speaking with a truculence not heard when Israel's application to the United Nations was pending, Zalman Aharonovitz, chairman of the Parliamentary Affairs Committee, bluntly told the United States and the Vatican on June 20 to stop meddling in Israel's affairs. On all three questions deadlocking the Conciliation Commission—boundaries, refugees and Jerusalem—he asserted, "We will not retreat." On June 21, Israel informed the UN that under no circumstances would it accept complete internationalization of Jerusalem. Mark F. Ethridge, retiring U. S. member of the Commission, returned to Washington on June 15 to report to our State Department. A recess of the Conciliation Commission until just before the report must be presented to the General Assembly was his cheerless recommendation. Such is the melancholy result when politics and expediency are the norm of political action. New York Times reporter Albion Ross noted a constant refrain heard all through the Near East: "UN will accept anything that is imposed by force."

Subscription blank enclosed herewith

Around June 17 you may have seen one of *Collier's* full-page ads heralding that magazine's forthcoming exposé of the Tucker car fiasco. Under a seven-column picture of an assembly shop, occupied in solitary grandeur by a single car, ran the caption "How Tucker made a Sucker of America." The accompanying copy highlighted the testimony of Securities and Exchange Commission accountants about the lavish expenditures of the man who collected some \$26 million of the public's money and failed to deliver a car. (Mr. Tucker and seven of his associates were indicted for fraud June 10 by a Federal Grand Jury in Chicago.) The "incredible facts on one of the most fabulous fiascos in our financial history," announces the ad, are "revealed for the first time, by *Collier's*." The emphasis is added by AMERICA; and well it might be, for this Review carried a three-page article on the Tucker story in its issue of April 30—six weeks before the Tucker indictment, seven weeks before the *Collier's* advertisement. The author was David C. Bayne, S.J., a member of the Federal and District of Columbia Bars, and presently a Graduate Fellow in the Yale Law School. We do not so much mind this swiping of our laurels—accidents will happen; we cannot but raise an eyebrow at the thought that apparently nobody in *Collier's* publicity department reads AMERICA.

WASHINGTON FRONT

One of the things that worried the Visiting Englishman last week was the state of legislation concerning international affairs. Not having the data at hand at the time, I was unable to satisfy him. Since then, however, I have received a "box score" on international legislation prepared for the Washington World Affairs Center, a young and energetic organization here, founded as a clearing house on world affairs.

The first impression one gets on reading this "box score" is one of amazement at the sheer number of the laws, agreements, treaties, conventions, programs, funds and protocols which the State Department has poured into the congressional hopper since January 5. My count is thirty-three. Most of these will have to be acted on at this session by one or both Houses if our foreign relations are not to be crippled in some one of our far-flung operations throughout the world. At this writing, very few have been adopted.

The second impression, of course, is the bewildering complexity of the procedure which the Congress has laid on itself. This explains the slowness of which there is so much complaint. From White House to Congress, to one or other house, to a subcommittee, to the full committee, back to the parent house, then to the other house, to a subcommittee there, then to the full committee (and in the case of the House of Representatives, to the Rules Committee), perhaps to other committees, then to a conference committee of both Houses, and finally back to both Houses for final action. When it is a money bill, this whole round has to be gone through twice, first for "authorization" and then for "appropriation" of funds.

The story of ECA (Economic Cooperation Administration) is typical. The original bill, S. 1209, "authorized" something more than \$5.5 billion for the Marshall Plan. The House passed that bill, too. But only the House of Representatives, following the ancient tradition of the British House of Commons and the still more ancient tradition of the Spanish Cortes, can "originate" a money bill. They started all over again. H.R. 3802 "appropriated" the money. It went to the Senate. At this writing the Senate Appropriations Committee was holding hearings on it, with acrimonious exchanges between Senator McKellar and Paul G. Hoffman. When it will pass, and how much it will carry, will depend on 1) the debate in the Senate, 2) the conference report, 3) the subsequent debates in each House, 4) the President's signature.

This is only the most important item. There still remain the reciprocal trade agreements, the North Atlantic Pact, military assistance to Western Europe, displaced persons, children's fund, world health, International Labor Office, South Pacific Commission, the Point IV program, and two dozen other really important projects that require legislation, and maybe appropriations.

WILFRID PARSONS

UNDERSCORINGS

Six Detroit women looked at the situation in regard to scholarships at Catholic colleges and decided that it was not good. There were plenty of scholarships, to be sure, but—and here's the joker—they were almost all confined to graduates of Catholic high schools. Catholic students at public high schools were taking their share of the scholarships available to them—scholarships to Michigan State, the U. of Michigan, Wayne, and other non-Catholic colleges and universities. In 1948 the six women rounded up three scholarships for Catholics in public schools: two from Mercy College, Detroit, and one from the University of Detroit. This year there are eleven scholarships available. Our congratulations to six women who believe that it is better to light one candle than to curse the dark.

► The Sacred Roman Rota, the Church's supreme marriage tribunal, decided 124 cases during 1948 concerning the nullity of marriages. In 76 cases the marriage was declared valid; in 48 it was found to be invalid, and a declaration of nullity was issued. More than one-third of the cases were handled gratuitously, neither the court nor the counsel receiving any fee.

► The Newman Association (31 Portman Sq., London W.1; cable address "Paxrom, London") will sponsor its annual summer school at Cambridge, England, Aug. 2-11. This year's theme will be "The University in the Modern World."

► A High School Teachers' Institute on Catholic Social and Economic Teaching will be held at Loyola University, Chicago, Aug. 16-19. It is sponsored by the Midwest unit of the Catholic Business Education Ass'n.

► The School of St. Philip Neri (for delayed vocations), 126 Newbury St., Boston 16, Mass., graduated 86 students in the closing exercises of this academic year. Over 80 per cent of the graduating class were veterans, ranging in age from 20 to 36. Four of the graduates intend to enter the Trappist order; fifty will continue their studies for the diocesan priesthood in various U. S. dioceses; the remainder will go to some fourteen missionary and religious societies.

► As of May 1, 1949 there were 137 retreat houses for men in the United States, according to the National Catholic Laymen's Retreat Conference (111 W. Washington St., Chicago). They are distributed through 38 States and the District of Columbia. Perhaps, since the new Trappist monastery in Utah has held its first laymen's retreat (Underscorings, 6/11), we might call it 138 houses of retreat in 39 States.

► The John Carroll University Bookstore, Cleveland 18, Ohio, is distributing a "Prayer Card for the Sick." Eleven inches by eight and a half, it is printed in clear, legible type and is convenient for the sick who cannot manage a prayer book in bed. Single copies 35 cents; lots of three, \$1; lots of 100, \$25. C. K.

Socialism in American education

The unexpected approval given to the Barden Federal-aid-to-education bill (AM. 6/25, p. 369) has thrown into high relief the real issues lurking under the slogan of "equalizing educational opportunities" for our children. The question facing Congress is this: are we trying to create a governmental monopoly of education in the United States?

Industry has been busy running full-page advertisements sounding the alarm of "socialism" through governmental regulation of free enterprise. Meanwhile the real danger is going unnoticed. For a hundred years we have been drifting into a system wherein the most precious freedom we possess—the freedom to teach—has gradually been absorbed by government. When it became plain to everyone that this governmental monopoly was crowding out religious instruction, the released-time system of teaching religion was proposed. That was on the eve of World War I. This system spread very rapidly in response to public recognition of the need to balance the secular schooling given by the State with the religious instruction given by the churches. In 1948 the Supreme Court dealt released time a serious blow when it declared such instruction, within public school buildings, to be unconstitutional. The only educational agency able to compete with the State for the minds of children was peremptorily told to get off the premises and leave the tutoring of young minds to departments of education of State and local governments.

What was the first thing the Russian Communists did when they took over Russia in 1917? They abolished freedom of education and freedom of religion. No totalitarian system can afford to leave the generation of ideals and the interpretation of the deeper meaning of life in the hands of free institutions like the Church. Children cannot be allowed to learn that they have been endowed by their Creator with rights no government can justly violate. The hearts of the young cannot be warmed by other loyalties than those of the political system under which they live. "We have no king but Caesar." It was the same with the Nazis. It is the same with the USSR in her satellite states in Eastern Europe today. All political tyrannies contend that "the child is the creature of the State."

The same day brings the news from Prague that the communist Czech Government is crushing out the last vestiges of educational freedom and the news from Washington that the House subcommittee on education has adopted, by a vote of 10-3, the bill designed by Rep. Graham A. Barden (D., N. C.) to stigmatize private schools in the United States as inconsequential and unworthy of a dime of Federal aid to education. The full Committee on Education and Labor, with its twenty-five members, has still to vote on the measure. The Barden bill already has ten of the thirteen votes it needs to be reported out as the official House version of the educational phase of President Truman's "Fair Deal." No more

EDITORIALS

unfair education bill has ever been proposed in the Congress of the United States.

The Thomas bill passed by the Senate was bad enough. But at least its companion measure, the \$30-million school health bill, left the States free to use Federal money for bus transportation, nonreligious textbooks and health aids for all American children, whether they attend public or nonpublic schools. To this extent the Senate recognized that nearly three million American children are being prepared for useful lives as free citizens in nongovernmental schools of their parents' choice. This recognition in the subsidiary Thomas bill is a mere token. But it is a token of something worth fighting for—the freedom of parents to have their children educated in nonpublic schools under religious auspices.

The Barden bill does more than prohibit the use of any Federal funds for bus transportation, nonreligious textbooks and health aids. It also provides a procedure whereby any taxpayer may get an injunction against a local school board suspected of spending Federal money for nonpublic-school children. Catholics have become the untouchables, the pariahs, in American education.

A bill proposed to "equalize" educational opportunities puts a Federal curse on three million American children. Why? *Because they are exercising their constitutional right to frequent schools where the Catholic religion is taught.* That is what "democracy" means to Mr. Barden. It is a religion—like nazism and communism. We are allowed to practise our "alien" religion only by sufferance and provided we pay taxes to support the "religion of democracy" as Mr. Barden understands American democracy. He represents the Dixiecrat version.

This is not a merely religious question. President Green of the AFL, which has fought for Federal aid to education since 1917, has declared war on the Barden bill.

The National Educational Association will hold its annual convention in Boston, July 3-July 8. We hope that among the teachers attending this convention some will show the courage to call things by their right names. The argument that nonpublic schools are "divisive" is a slander on freedom. Is religious liberty "divisive"?

Was the GI Bill of Rights, by which Federal funds have gone to nonpublic schools, "undemocratic"? Is the Federal School Lunch program, in which Federal funds go to nonpublic schools, "un-American"? And are Great Britain, Holland and Canada, where religious schools share in public school funds, "undemocratic"? *Or are we face to face with an attempt to set up the most insidious monopoly a nation can undergo—State monopoly of education?* If so, socialism has already captured the stronghold of American freedom—our school system.

Mr. Dewey and Africa

When Governor Thomas E. Dewey spoke on June 19 at the Williams College commencement, he delivered a jolt to the public's indifference to Africa and to what is going on there. "It is time we lifted our sights and viewed the world in the round," said Mr. Dewey. "As a nation we have concentrated upon Europe while Asia has been going under and the Communists are working busily in Africa."

Mr. Dewey's remarks were not in disparagement of the European Recovery Program. On the contrary, he implicitly rebuked members of his own party whose delaying tactics are imperiling both ERP and the Atlantic Pact. "At this moment," said Mr. Dewey,

the immediate task is European recovery. Without a free Western Europe, we in the Americas would probably be soon a lonesome little island of freedom, with little chance of survival. . . . Europe is just as important to us as we are to Europe, and our program is one of personal and mutual interest.

Precisely because of our concern for Europe and for the part Europe plays in the present world struggle, we cannot leave Africa out of the picture.

Africa's role in this struggle has long since been assigned by the Communists. As in Europe and everywhere else, they are to memorize the line: militant opposition to the North Atlantic Pact and to the "attempt of British, American, French and Belgian wealth . . . to rebuild an Old World economy on slave labor." This is Dr. W. E. B. DuBois's characterization, apparently, of the ERP, the British Colonial Development Corporation and President Truman's "Point Four." Paul Robeson, chairman of the Council on African Affairs (New York City), on his recent return from the Paris congress of leftist intellectuals, echoed these denunciations, and gloried in the fact that he has "two motherlands," the United States and Soviet Russia.

"A united western Europe with its 270,000,000 people," said Mr. Dewey, "with free access to the immense resources of Africa, combined with the strength of the Americas, could become the mightiest force the world has ever seen to build a permanent peace." Europeans look longingly to Africa's spaces and Africa's natural wealth as an escape from their own problems of crowding and poverty. "Eurafrica," remarked a French publicist in a recent magazine article, "is undoubtedly the key to peace" (A. H. Adrian, *Monde Nouveau*, May, 1949).

Who, however, will primarily reap the benefit from our proposed expenditures in Africa? Will it be the native peoples: the victims of underproduction, of impoverished soil in a sparsely populated continent, of antiquated farming methods, of an appalling gap between ancient agriculture and modern industrialization? Will the program operate for the good of African, European and American alike? When foreign capital is invested in a country, will it be "run so as to benefit the people there," as was hoped for by Willard L. Thorp, U. S. Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, when he spoke on June 9 over the Voice of America?

The Communists blame the Western countries for Africa's poverty, yet denounce any attempt to release its natural riches. Their concern for the freedom of people under the nine "colonial" countries is not matched by an equal concern for dependent peoples subject to the forty-nine or more "non-colonial" governments. Inconsistencies, however, cannot be met by other inconsistencies. Searching questions of native peasantry and native industrial proletariat, of educational and political aspirations, of civic responsibilities and elementary human rights, face the framers of "Point Four." Unless these problems are handled with the utmost competence, fairness and deep human sympathy, we may find that our investments in Africa have benefited Moscow instead of Africa's people or ours.

Progress at Paris?

Discussion at the Paris Council of the Foreign Ministers seemed to bear drab flowers of pessimism. Russia's Vishinsky managed in the twenty sessions from May 23 to June 20 to speak warily and sign nothing, and the Western Ministers and many observers predicted the meeting would end without measurable progress on a German settlement. No one expected more than a limited agreement, and a very general one, at that. Chances for "modest progress" improved when the sessions became secret.

The main value of the Council meeting was, according to some diplomats, its proof of the reduced tension between the Soviet and the West. Others felt it simply demonstrated how far apart the West and the Soviet Union remain. No one could deny, however, that despite the cold war it was possible to renew formal contact and to prolong it. When the closed sessions appeared to promise some sort of agreement on Berlin and to point to settlement of the Austrian treaty, as news reports indicated June 20, headlines reflected a faint hope.

What is the final outcome? Despite the series of declarations of intention and the agreements-in-principle which the concluding communiqué set forth, a European peace settlement and even the thorny German situation were actually postponed to later discussion. The Four Powers have proved themselves incapable of making any German settlement, which will now rest, by default, with the Germans themselves. Yet the closing of the meeting was hailed with enthusiasm in Austria, which for four years has been praying for an honorable treaty. The Austrians recognized that agreement on their boundaries, on "German assets," and on the indemnities they must pay would result in an early end to Soviet occupation. The gain for Russia includes a return to the Four-Power control in both Berlin and Germany and the expansion of intercourse between the Western and Soviet zones. General opinion now is that the Soviets do not wish to warm up the cold war in Europe.

While Russia would not agree, in writing, to drop the Berlin blockade for good, her keen interest in keeping trade relations between the blocked zones open is expected to guarantee free communication channels.

One heartening result of the conference is that Mr. Acheson was alerted by Russia's interest in a Japanese treaty. After waiting so long for the "dust to settle" in China, the State Department now seems to be giving the Far East the serious consideration it should have received two years ago.

Probe of gasoline prices

On June 27 a subcommittee of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee was scheduled to open hearings on gasoline prices. The move, though long overdue, is still timely. For the past six months prices in a number of lines have declined. At the moment the trend, as reflected, for instance, in the new Sears, Roebuck catalog, is still slowly downward. In most cases these declines reflect changing market conditions. Consumers have satisfied their most pressing needs and can now afford to wait for better quality and lower prices. Almost all the wartime shortages have disappeared, and distributors' stocks are ample. The seller's market has become a buyer's market, thus putting pressure on manufacturers and dealers to cut prices. While all this has been going on, the price of gasoline, notably in the Eastern part of the country, has been increasing. The Senate subcommittee, as well as millions of American motorists, want to know why.

A preliminary investigation has already disclosed that the supply of oil is ample, indeed more than ample. For some months now regulatory bodies in such big oil-producing States as Texas and Oklahoma have been imposing quotas on producers to avoid over-supply. Furthermore, the investigation showed that oil-industry profits have been extremely high, even for a period characterized by high profits. In 1948 oil profits were more than two and one-half times higher than in 1946. By all the laws of competitive capitalism, motorists ought to be enjoying lower prices for gasoline. Instead, price increases since 1946, according to the American Automobile Association, have cost motorists about \$1.3 billion. Since last autumn the price of gasoline in the East has been hiked almost a cent and a half a gallon, and there has been talk lately of still another increase.

For its seeming profiteering the oil industry, of course, has explanations. Prices of other petroleum products, notably heating and fuel oils, have fallen, with the result that profits for the first quarter of 1949 are down from ten to twenty-five per cent from the first quarter of 1948. The cost of refining has gone up and petroleum prices themselves have not declined. Finally, the industry needed large profits to finance a big program of expansion to meet the nation's needs.

No doubt the subcommittee will probe the validity of these answers, all of which, it should be noted, avoid the main issue which the postwar price policies of the oil industry would seem to raise. That issue is this: by what right is the industry, through the friendly aid of State regulatory bodies, limiting the supply of petroleum in order to maintain artificially high prices for gasoline? How can the oil companies justify excessively high profits

on the ground that they need capital for expansion when they limit production as soon as supply begins to exceed demand? Are we dealing here with a glaring example of that "planned scarcity" which critics of business allege is the normal practice of our monopolistic and semi-monopolistic industries?

The nature of this issue is such as to give the Senate investigation a much wider significance than would appear on the surface. It is not a matter affecting only the pocketbooks of motorists. It touches basic principles of the capitalistic system. It raises a question as to the extent to which we can any longer depend on competitive forces to bring about those adjustments which are supposed to be essential to the healthy functioning of a capitalistic system.

Business realists

Businessmen gathered in Chicago last week for conventions of the National Association of Cost Accountants and the National Association of Purchasing Agents heard some refreshingly realistic talk about their role in the American economy. Stealing some thunder from labor leaders, L. A. Peterson, president of Otis Elevator, who addressed the cost accountants at the Palmer House, urged industry to take "strong, aggressive, forceful action" to achieve an economy stabilized at the highest possible levels of production and employment. Other speakers made it clear that at the present moment strong, aggressive action involved a hard look at pricing policies. Professor Joel Dean of Columbia University raised doubts about "cost-plus" pricing; denied that costs are the only consideration in pricing, or even the most important one. The dominant factor in pricing policy, he argued, is its effect on volume and sales. In other words, the pricing policies of business must contribute to stabilizing production and employment at high levels.

Similar talk was heard at the Stevens Hotel, where the Purchasing Agents were assembled. Robert C. Swanton, of Winchester Repeating Arms, urged industry to adopt "a more realistic price policy." He contended that such a policy would help business to reach "price stability sooner" than present policies of "token" or "cut-and-dry" reductions. In a dig at the steel industry, a committee headed by Fred G. Syburg of the Chain Belt Company reported that costs of coal and steel scrap are down, and efficiency is up. Mr. Syburg denied that "rigid high labor rates" would prevent steel price cuts dictated by other considerations. The report noted that "steel is being consumed at a greater rate than it is being produced," and regarded this as a hopeful sign for the future.

If these conventions indicate that industrialists are beginning to think more of taking positive measures to head off a depression and less of trying to ride out the storm after it breaks, they are a harbinger of better times. They suggest that labor—which for the past two decades has insisted on positive action to deal with the boom-bust cycle—and management are approaching a common viewpoint on an issue which up till now has bitterly divided them.

Beran of Prague

Edward Duff, S.J.

THE CASE OF Archbishop Joseph Beran of Prague is pathetic proof that it is impossible for a free man to live quietly under a communist regime. If peace were purchasable by diplomatic skill, Archbishop Beran would have been an admirable bargaining agent—patient, placid, intellectually resourceful. He had been recognized by the Communists themselves as “an enemy of fascism and the personal friend of our comrades who today occupy high office in the regime.” If increasing economic problems, a population 75 per cent Catholic, a boasted tradition of tolerance in what used to be called the only democracy in Central Europe, could win the Kremlin agents exemption from pressing for a religious crisis, there would be no persecution in Czechoslovakia.

Communism's need of making every institution a power tool for complete control of the human person provides the only explanation of the Czech Government's behavior.

The hope of Catholic leaders that somehow a direct struggle with the Government might be avoided was illusory. After the coup of February, 1948 the Czech hierarchy declared the Church would “continue to fulfill faithfully her duties both to God and toward the state, carefully maintaining aloofness from all partisan and political bias, devoting herself exclusively to religious activities.” A fresh declaration of loyalty was demanded of the bishops this February as a main condition for any negotiations with the Government over the problems of education and compensation for expropriated property. At a conference of the bishops at Dolny Smokovec in Slovakia on March 22, the hierarchy decided to repeat its declaration of loyalty. The discovery of a microphone hidden under a radiator in the conference room broke up the meeting.

All of this Archbishop Beran listed in a memorandum to President Gottwald, kept from newsmen lest it serve as an excuse for retaliation. Negotiations could be successfully carried on, the Archbishop insisted, only if systematic attacks against the Church and the Vatican were discontinued. The Catholic press had been smothered by paper rationing until even the bishops' bulletins to their clergy were stopped. The gathering and training of Catholic Youth had been declared illegal; reports were spread that the state was favoring the Church financially; church collections were prohibited; a preconceived plan to destroy religious freedom (probably the directives to communist agents; cf. AM. 6/4, p. 314) was being ruthlessly applied.

Events moved rapidly thereafter. On May 11 the Ministry of Information began issuance of the Catholic Clergy *Gazette* as the sole official organ for publication of “all matters concerning church administration . . . so that the clergy will not be misled by uninformed persons

“Every Czech and Slovak Catholic must realize that his time of test has come in which he has to ‘tell the sheep from the wolves in sheep's clothing,’ and that in issues of religious freedom there can be no compromise.”—Archbishop Josef Beran, Pastoral Letter, June 19, 1949.

in the Catholic hierarchy.” Only directives and announcements of pastoral changes printed in the *Gazette* would have legal validity. In its first issue the *Gazette* held out an open bribe of financial reward to priests who would collaborate with the regime. “There is being prepared the foundation of a new Czechoslovak Catholic Church and a new ‘union of the Catholic Clergy,’” was the Archbishop's comment in a letter to his priests.

At the closing sessions of the Communist Party's Congress in Prague on May 29, Minister of Information Vaclav Kopecky openly warned that unless the Church ceased to “obey directives from Rome” and showed good will toward the Government it would find itself in the same situation as the Catholic Church in Hungary. Kopecky asserted the Government's right to administer all schools without exception “in the spirit of the Marxist-Leninist teaching.”

With all schools nationalized, hundreds of priests in jail, Catholic papers suppressed, Archbishop Beran informed his clergy on May 27 that “any further negotiations between the Church and the State are vain and hopeless.”

A spurious Catholic Action movement was launched on June 10, sponsored by quisling Catholics of the People's Party. Forerunner of the form of the new National Catholic Church, the organization announced itself as “dedicated to reaching an agreement between the Church and the Government.” Automatic excommunication did not impress Alois Petr, its head: he recognized the authority of the bishops only in “spiritual matters,” he explained. The next day the Ministry of Education appointed special political instructors to Catholic seminaries to teach compulsory “social progress” courses that priests must pass before they are ordained. Disagreement with the lecturer would be considered “an attempt to interfere with the fulfillment of this ordinance.”

With Father Anton Mandl, secretary of the original Catholic Action organization, lodged in some unknown jail, the usurpers began publishing names of their adherents, including priests who had been deceived about the purpose of the manifesto and others who had been dead for years. Amid the tension and confusion, a police squad invaded the Archbishop's offices on June 12, ransacked the diocesan files, supervised all phone calls, censored all mail, sat down to watch. “No violence will be used by the state,” a spokesman for the Central Action Committee of the National Front gave assurance. Arrested were the chancellor, Father Rudolf Doerner, and the Archbishop's secretary, Father Kucera—an ominous reminder of the tactics in the Mindszenty case. In a dramatic appearance at the 1,800-year-old Strahov Monastery on June 18, the Archbishop told a sobbing congregation

to believe in him even if they heard he had "made a confession." His Corpus Christi Day sermon in his own cathedral on June 19 was shouted down by whistles and catcalls from plainclothesmen and members of the workers' militia. The Archbishop's pastoral, the object of the police search of his home, was successfully circulated with its message to Catholics: "The time of trial has come."

A hurriedly convoked Cabinet meeting was followed by an unprecedented official radio address to the nation. Premier Antonin Zapotocky accused the Archbishop of political activity and threatened his arrest as a foe of the state. The manifest fact is that the Church in Czechoslovakia—as the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* pointed out on June 9—is not political enough to suit the Government, which wants compliant religious organizations, ready to make public statements in support of government policy whenever the Government needs them.

Meanwhile the Archbishop has ordered the dissolution of his consistory to neutralize the use of his letterheads by government agents. He has withdrawn to his home awaiting the fate of his brother bishops—Aloysius Stepinac and Joseph Mindszenty.

The church-state problem in Utah

Robert F. Drinan

DEVOTEES OF THE PRINCIPLE of absolute separation of Church and State in the United States seem to be overlooking a recent case in Utah which could be a fine target for their zeal. In this case the Supreme Court of Utah upheld as constitutional a legislative grant of some \$350,000 to a private organization for the erection of a memorial building dedicated to the early founders of the State—men who were, of course, the founders of Mormonism. The universal silence about this Utah incident on the part of the self-appointed champions of the separation of Church and State gives another proof—if proof be needed—that these vociferous people are zealous to protect the "impregnable wall of separation" only when it is allegedly breached by Catholics. However, let us go to the beginning of this interesting Utah story.

In 1903 a group of women from Salt Lake City formed an organization called the Daughters of Utah Pioneers. The purpose of the society, according to its by-laws, was to "perpetuate the names and achievements of the men and women who were the founders of this great Commonwealth"—an aim to be achieved by "seeking to promote and carry out the objects and purposes which the pioneers had in view . . . by reviewing the lives of the pioneers and teaching their descendants and the citizens of our country the lessons of faith, courage, patriotism."

The Daughters did not require that their members be Mormons; but to be admitted one must be a "lineal descendant of an ancestor who came to Utah prior to

the advent of the railroad in 1869." As a result of this restriction, the membership of the Daughters was made up almost exclusively of Mormons or of ex-Mormons.

The Daughters did much self-sacrificing work throughout two decades in collecting and displaying the relics of their ancestors, and, in fact, were much more active in this work than the State-authorized historical society. In 1925 the Daughters incorporated, and in the same year petitioned the Legislature for funds to carry on their work. An annual grant of \$2,000 was authorized, and the society continued to receive the same amount in some of the years up to 1941. In that year a 99-year lease of part of the Capitol grounds was granted the Daughters at a rental of one dollar per year, with the agreement that the grantees would erect thereon a memorial building to the heroes of Utah. As of 1941, the Daughters were to finance the structure; but later, after much negotiation and with no little lobbying on the part of the Daughters, the State itself in 1947 signed a contract for \$364,794 to build a Memorial and then turn it over to the Daughters!

Now the Daughters' troubles began. It happens that the Utah Constitution is the *only* Constitution of any State in the Union which contains the so-called "great American principle of separation of Church and State." Utah's Constitution demands unequivocally:

There shall be no union of Church and State nor shall any church dominate the State or interfere with its function. No public money or property shall be appropriated for or applied to any religious worship, exercise or instruction or for the support of an ecclesiastical establishment. . . .

One James Thomas, a taxpayer, felt that the appropriation for the Daughters violated this section of his State's Constitution. Consequently he brought suit for a writ to enjoin the Daughters from acting under the legislation authorizing the erection of the Memorial building. In the ensuing case, *Thomas v. Daughters of Utah Pioneers* (197 P. 2d 477), decided July 24, 1948, the Supreme Court of Utah upheld the appropriation, 3-2.

The room in the Memorial Building to be dedicated to Brigham Young, the founder of the Mormons, was the principal problem for the Court. Would this have proselyting value for the Mormons? Would State subsidizing of such a room be an unconstitutional aid to sectarian religion? Three judges said no. One judge felt that the principal message of Brigham Young was freedom of religion rather than sectarianism, and that consequently the State could constitutionally enhance the reputation of such a man. This particular judge dissented, however, because he felt that the grant was to a private organization not sufficiently controlled by the State. Only one judge was of the opinion that the grant was barred by the State Constitution's proscription of aid to any sect.

The majority opinion was written by Chief Justice Roger I. McDonough. His argument goes thus: this memorial will be a public benefit; the defendants are not

(Robert F. Drinan, S.J., student of law at Georgetown University, here contributes another of his articles on legal opinions pertaining to the issue of Church and State.)

an ecclesiastical organization; there is no positive proof that they favor any particular religious faith. Furthermore, should it subsequently appear that one of the purposes of the organization is that of proselyting, then an implied condition of the lease would be violated—this condition being the article in the Utah Constitution forbidding aid to any sectarian organization. In consequence of such violation the lease could be terminated by the Legislature without infringing the contract clause of the Constitution of the United States.

This opinion, aside from its intrinsic value and logic, is noteworthy because the writer of it, Justice McDonough, is a Catholic. His holding clearly shows the utter falsity of the professional anti-Catholics' allegations that Catholics do not and cannot support religious freedom as that term is understood in the United States. Here is a Catholic judge who in his conscience knows with certainty that the Mormons have no right before God to propagate a false religion, yet who decrees that they have a civil and constitutional right to whatever incidental benefit this legislation clearly brings them.

Justice James H. Wolfe is the only one of the five judges on Utah's highest tribunal who felt that the appropriation to the Daughters was a violation of the separation of Church and State demanded by the Utah Constitution. Justice Wolfe, we may note in passing, is currently one of the initiating sponsors of the Committee for Free Political Advocacy, an organization which in a recent advertisement in the *New Republic* described itself as opposed to the indictment of the twelve top Communists in New York as a violation of free speech.

The Justice admits that the Daughters of Utah Pioneers are not a lay or clerical organization affiliated with Mormonism, and that there has been no evidence offered by the plaintiff that the Daughters' literature in any way makes an attempt at religious propaganda. But none the less, the Justice avers, the Daughters "have the aspect of an ecclesiastical organization, because the leaders of this organization are predominantly members of a sect one of whose cornerstones is an aggressive crusade for proselyting and crusading." These Mormons will have the opportunity, and the temptation, to use the Memorial Building to propagate the doctrines of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. The Constitution of Utah, concludes Justice Wolfe, prohibits the bringing into existence "of a 'set-up' so highly fraught with potentialities, opportunities and temptations for the propagation of one religious faith in contradiction to competing faiths." In building up his case, Justice Wolfe goes out of his way to bring in the ever more familiar contention that religious education is divisive, a notion ably explained and refuted by Rev. Robert C. Hartnett, S.J., in *Thought* for March, 1949.

This minority view of the question is not without cogency, but we must feel that on the facts of the case the majority opinion is the correct one. When the State or Federal legislature has delegated the creation and maintenance of a public benefit to a private or religious organization, the judiciary need not examine all the details of the situation and void the entire thing merely

because some religious organization profits in some incidental way. For the judiciary to do so is an entirely new practice in American history. The judiciary of the United States has suddenly acquired a bad case of scruples, not shared by the other branches of government, about giving any aid, however incidental, to religious or semi-religious organizations. According to the constitutional principles universally accepted before the revolutionary doctrines of the McCollum case were introduced, State aid to a private or religious organization for a public purpose would be unobjectionable. In the dissent in the Utah case this new, radical objection to public aid to a private organization, even for a public purpose, reached a new high. The test the dissent offers is even more revolutionary than the principles of the McCollum case. Justice Wolfe would forbid any aid for a public purpose to any secular organization most of whose members believe firmly in one religious faith, lest perhaps these members use the public service thereby created for spreading religious propaganda. How scrupulous about the separation of Church and State can we get?

Let us set out what we feel to be traditional norms for the judiciary in examining problems of this type:

1. State aid to any religious organization for specifically ecclesiastical functions is forbidden.

2. State aid to one religion for any public purpose is constitutional unless it is positively demonstrated that other religions were discriminated against in the distribution of this aid.

3. State aid to all religions on an impartial basis for a public purpose, like building morale or citizenship or spreading education, is constitutionally unassailable.

Certainly Congress had these norms in mind when (to use but one example not generally referred to) it made the GI Bill of Rights available for those who wish to study for the priesthood or the ministry. If the executive and legislative branches of government continue to act on these traditional principles, by what right does the judiciary suddenly question such procedure? Have the legislative and executive branches lived all these decades without so much as hearing of the "great American principle of separation of Church and State"?

On March 14, 1949 the Supreme Court of the United States refused to review the decision of the Supreme Court of Utah in the case of *Thomas v. Daughters of Utah Pioneers*. When the Supreme Court refuses review to a case, the usual formula is "appeal denied" or "appeal dismissed for want of a substantial Federal question." In the *Thomas* case the Supreme Court refused review for "want of a properly presented substantial Federal question." The words italicized by this writer may indicate that review was refused because of some technical legal difficulty. Perhaps the Supreme Court is hinting that the appellant did not properly invoke the "establishment" clause of the First Amendment, applied to the States by the McCollum case. In any event, the Supreme Court has allowed the decision of the Supreme Court of Utah to stand. Let us hope that the highest tribunal in the land has by implication retreated at least a bit from its revolutionary position in the McCollum case.

Why the press lost face

Edward Fischer

A POLITICIAN MAY SOME DAY try to bribe an editor to berate him in print. Paradoxically enough, it seems that newspaper censure is now a better omen than newspaper support. Such support, once eagerly sought, has become a kiss of death, a jinx that few seekers for public office can survive.

Politickin' has been a humbling experience for the press during the past few Presidential elections. Last fall, 65 per cent of the newspapers—serving 80 per cent of all U. S. readers—backed Dewey, backed him with such conviction that, the morning after the election, embarrassing “Dewey victory” headlines popped out all over the country. By almost the same percentage the press supported the losers in the elections of 1944, 1940 and 1936.

The British press, too, had that humbling experience in 1945. Some 80 per cent of the papers backed the Tories, predicted they would win without even working up a lather, and were shocked to see the Labor Party come out on top.

The current lack of success of the American press in swaying elections is symbolized by the *Chicago Tribune*. That paper—as far as circulation goes—couldn't be healthier. It is cussed and discussed by people all over the Midwest. Practically everyone, it seems, buys it on the way to the polls—and votes just the opposite of its wishes. So far as circulation goes, practically the whole of the American press couldn't be healthier. It has just about doubled the 28 million circulation it boasted thirty years ago when our newspapers still exercised strong political leadership.

CAUSES OF LOSS OF PRESTIGE

What has happened to that power, the Fourth Estate, that used to make and break politicians? The full answer is complex. From the multitude of reasons, however, three stand out clearly:

1. The press has lost the confidence of the common man; it has not kept pace with the educational progress of the readers, and it has become so engrossed in entertaining that it has slipped in its functions of informing and interpreting.

The common man began to turn against newspapers when the newspapers turned against him in the industrial strife of 1919 and 1920. The workers felt betrayed; they felt the press did not have their interest at heart. The rift was widened when the working class and a good percentage of the middle class observed newspapers fighting much of the social legislation which was initiated under President Roosevelt.

It is a natural thing for publishers, themselves employers, to take the side of the employer in most employer-employee clashes. To ask them not to would prob-

Why has the American press today lost the role of political leadership it enjoyed in former years? Edward Fischer, Assistant Professor of Journalism at the University of Notre Dame, analyzes the shortcomings in today's journalism which explain its loss of public confidence.

ably be asking them to be more than human—and they are not always as wrong as labor makes them out to be. They have, however, been unfair on enough occasions to make their guilt easily documented.

For one thing, there is the practice of slanting or suppressing news. George Seldes in *Lords of the Press* points out that the Gannett papers suppressed labor's endorsement of Roosevelt's proposal to increase the size of the Supreme Court. He also cites the New York *Herald Tribune's* suppression of the news of the National Biscuit Company strike because Ogden L. Mills, a member of the company's board of directors, was related to the owners of the newspaper. He accuses the Scripps-Howard chain of suppressing a column by Hugh S. Johnson because it praised John L. Lewis, and he points an accusing finger at the Nashville *Banner* for withholding a story about the beating of a CIO organizer, Norma Smith, in Memphis.

2. Further, publishers have not been shining models in their relationships with their own employees. Salaries that publishers once paid, and are still paying in many instances, prove that point. The practice up to a few years ago was for newspapermen to work long hours for little money. As Ring Lardner wrote: “I was with the South Bend *News*. We worked from 7 A.M. till —” A New York cartoonist made a condensed statement of his plight: “My soul belongs to God, but my body belongs to William Randolph Hearst.”

Comparatively few publishers paid fair wages to their news staffs before the American Newspaper Guild was formed in 1933. If a reporter was considered very good in the old days, he might look forward to a wage of \$35 a week after ten or twenty years on the job. The median wage in 1933 for reporters with five to ten years of experience was \$30.21—and this for a week with any number of hours, under any and all conditions.

The Guild has proved that a 40-hour week is feasible in a newspaper office, even though most publishers cried that it was impracticable and impractical. Wages, however, even on many papers under Guild contract, are nothing to crow about. For instance, in June, 1948 the Guild listed the following weekly minima with metropolitan papers: the Los Angeles *Daily News*, \$51; the New York *Times*, \$50; the Milwaukee *Sentinel*, \$40.25; the Chicago *Sun-Times*, \$42.

One reason the Guild has had such tough sledding is that the International Typographical Union is so strong. It demands and gets good salaries for the mechanical department; consequently publishers cut corners by holding down salaries of the editorial department. A survey made by the Iowa *Publisher* points up a typical case. In Iowa towns with populations from 3,000 to 10,000 the average composing-room foreman makes \$68.30 a week, while the average news editor makes \$58.94.

These low salaries for the men who gather, write and edit the news—men who are the brains and the heart of the newspaper—indicate the main reason why newspapers have not kept pace with the education of the readers.

Not a very high percentage of Grade A men will work for such wages. They must love the game, or they will move on to greener pastures. And newspapers, to hold the respect of the better-educated readers, must have excellent men all up and down the line. Any other profession could more easily get by with Grade B material. As the saying goes: "A lawyer charges for his mistakes, a doctor buries his mistakes, and a newspaperman publishes his mistakes." When an organization must put its mistakes down in black and white for all the world to see, it had better be run by men who are not in the habit of making mistakes.

3. A third reason newspapers have not kept pace with the reader's education is that schools of journalism have let them down. Those schools have laid too much stress on technical training and not enough on the broad cultural background that Grade A newspapermen need. Certainly a student should learn to write a headline and understand the mechanics of the news room, but most schools of journalism have had him doing far too much of that type of thing while precious time was running out. The student ended his college days without knowing enough about economics, sociology, history, art, politics, literature and the many other things that would have kept growing inside him for the rest of his life. There is an old newsroom dictum to the effect that "a good newspaperman should know something about everything and everything about something."

This flaw in education is one of the main reasons why newspapers have put so much stress on entertainment. The men who produce newspapers—excusing themselves by saying they are giving the reader what he wants—are often trying to hide their lack of knowledge under the spectacle and blare of a three-ring circus. Comics, crossword puzzles, serial stories, horoscopes, lovelorn drivel, overplayed crime stories and a lot of other hooplah are making us lose sight of the reason for a paper's existence—news.

This latter fact was pointed out by the 1945-1946 class of Nieman Fellows of Harvard, all of them good newspapermen:

... newspapers clearly are publishing less news, in proportion, than they used to. On the average, only one-fourth of their space (as shown by an analysis of New York dailies) is devoted to news; almost an equal amount is given to entertainment features, and the rest (55 per cent) to advertising. When cuts are made in the paper, to make room for more ads or to conserve newsprint, usually it is news that is cut, rather than the comics or other fixed features.

A listing of today's journalistic faults inevitably leads to the question: will the press stage a comeback; will it ever regain its lost leadership?

There are a few hopeful signs. For one thing, schools of journalism are beginning to admit the error of their ways and to do something about it. William H. Morris,

who reviewed the trends in journalistic instruction in the Winter, 1948 *Bulletin* of the American Association of University Professors, summed up the latest movement in a sentence: "During more recent years the pendulum has been swinging back from the newsroom and copywriting toward general education and research." In many places, journalism is becoming "something of an interdepartmental major," according to the April, 1949 issue of *Journalism*.

For this awakening of schools of journalism, credit is due to thinking newspapermen like James S. Pope, a managing editor, who had this to say in the *Journalism Quarterly*:

I'd rather a new employe have read the Smyth report and understand the principles of atomic power, than have learned how to write a headline.

Believe me, the prevailing curse in our field is not lack of specialization; it is not lack of classroom training in the mechanics of the city room.

It is ignorance.

It is unawareness.

It is slovenly thinking.

It is shallow comprehension of life and the job of reporting it.

Another spur to the schools of journalism comes from the Commission on Freedom of the Press, headed by Robert M. Hutchins, Chancellor of the University of Chicago: "We recommend further that existing schools of journalism exploit the total resources of their universities to the end that their students may obtain the broadest and most liberal training."



With better-educated men from top to bottom, newspapers will eventually sicken of their role as sideshow barkers; they will let the role of entertainer go back to certain magazines where it belongs. They will handle news in such fashion that it will be entertaining in itself. The Associated Press, for one, is beginning to realize that a story can be objective without being stodgy. It has hired Dr. Rudolph Flesch,

author of *The Art of Plain Talk*, to study the AP file to recommend how it can be made more readable and generally interesting.

But will publishers ever pay enough to their editorial employes to hold the top-flight men that schools of journalism train for them? Will they change their attitude toward labor, so that the common man will come to feel that editors and publishers are his friends? Those are sixty-four dollar questions that will determine whether the press will again reflect public sentiment or continue to go wrong on important forecasts. They give meaning to the words of dedication in A. J. Liebling's book, *The Wayward Pressman*: "To the Foundation of a School for Publishers, Failing Which, No School of Journalism Can Have Meaning."

Sigrid Undset: heir of the Volsungs

Charles A. Brady

WHEN SIGRID UNDET was a child in Norway, her father's friend, the great German archeologist Heinrich Schliemann, who lives in history as the excavator of the Troad, let her touch a little terra-cotta horse he had dug up on the very site of Troy—the sort of toy with which Prince Astyanax must once have played before the fatal night the Greek legions streamed, shouting, through the Scaean Gate. Add to this charming late nineteenth-century tableau of a scholar's household the child Sigrid's literal passion for the greatest of the Icelandic sagas, the *Njála*. "It went straight to her head; she woke up in the morning, got into her clothes, sat at the breakfast table sick with impatience to get her fingers on the book again and find some place where she could go on reading." Here one has a symbolic foreshadowing of her career both as world-famous writer and as heroine of the Norwegian Resistance. In her greatest writing, past and present converge in a single point of timeless contemporaneity. In her angry defiance of the Nazi terror the ancient Volsung line cries out against the tyrant.

Her imagination was epic; her method saga; her life Homeric in the final Viking phase, which began with German bombing planes over Oslofjord on that night of infamy, April 8, 1940, and reached its climax in 1947 with her reception, at the hands of King Haakon VII, of the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Olaf, the first time that decoration had been bestowed upon a woman not of royal blood. Not of royal blood? She had shown herself kinswoman to saga princesses during the fierce fighting that marked the flight of her party, by ski and on foot, across war-torn Norway into Swedish sanctuary, and thence, by way of Russia and Japan, to San Francisco. Nor did she emerge unscarred from the terrible ordeal. Her creative career was shattered. The manuscript continuing the eighteenth-century trilogy initiated so auspiciously by *Madame Dorothea* was destroyed, never to be taken up again. Her eldest son was dead at his post of honor.

Those were the years of wrath. Now "nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail or knock the breast . . . nothing but well and fair." She lived out her exile in hospitable America, and went home to Norway when peace came, to die quietly on June 10 in "calm of mind, all passion spent." To our bitter shame we American Catholics hardly noticed her while there was still time; while she was still our guest. Her obituaries list three honorary degrees from American colleges, not one of them major, not one of them Catholic. Yet she was the greatest convert since Chesterton. But one forgets that, in Catholic practice, honorary degrees have long since degenerated into political or economic speculation.

LITERATURE AND ARTS

The years of harvest had been fruitful, too. In them the golden age of the Scandinavian novel, which commenced with Björnsterne Björnson's lovely idylls and then advanced into the powerful romanticism of Selma Lagerlöf and Verner von Heidenstam and the peasant naturalism of Knut Hamsun, culminated in her great medieval trilogy, *Kristin Lavransdatter*, and her subsequent tetralogy, *Master of Hestviken*.

Of the four great traditions of the world novel—the English, the French, the Russian, the Scandinavian—the Russian is the most remote from us in the time-space continuum of the reading psyche. But the Scandinavian tradition, though closest to us in time, is still very far removed in literary convention. It reposes on the specific convention of saga narrative; a simpler and far more rigidly objective fictional manner than any developed in the West. Madame Undset's method is not, of course, unmitigated saga, but saga remains the strong matrix of her style. Like the sturdy ribs and planks of the Oseberg Ship in its Vestfold barrow, saga has left firm marks on her rich soil of narrative; and the many critics who are puzzled by her somber humorlessness, as they choose to regard it, fail to realize that saga humor is instinct with a savage irony and laconic stoicism.

Every compleat reader is like George Borrow's apple-woman of London Bridge or Wilkie Collins' Inspector Cuff. He has one book to which he returns again and again. With me it is neither *Robinson Crusoe* nor *Moll Flanders*, but a book more deeply archetypal than *Robinson* and about a heroine who is a greater sinner than *Moll*. From any point of view *Kristin Lavransdatter* must be accounted one of the master novels of the world, the greatest novel ever written by a woman and, possibly, the greatest single historical novel in literary annals, although the total breadth of Scott's *Waverley* canvas should be acknowledged something better than *Kristin's* peer. Here, if anywhere, our century has attained ultimate literary greatness.

Kristin Lavransdatter is the greatest of time novels, greater even than *The Forsyte Saga*. It is the greatest of marriage novels—never was the anarchic, quintessential masculine better caught than in the figure of that little Kay grown old, Erlend Nikalausson—greater even than *Anna Karenina*. Moreover, as a novel of marriage—though only time can determine this—it may well prove a historic landmark. As a wit once said, the modern marriage novel needs a Bovarectomy. Already, perhaps,

Sigrid Undset's wise-woman's marriage packet of sweet simples and bitter herbs has begun to replace the curette of that Norman surgeon of the passions, Gustave Flaubert.

Her realism is massively Tolstoyan, free from all sentimental posturing and, despite her introspective theologizing, free also from pulpiteering. It is realism after the sage recipe of an old Norwegian farm woman whom Madame Undset was fond of quoting: "Never tell a lie. And don't tell a truth, unless it is necessary." *Kristin*, especially, is prodigal of great scenes that neither lie nor shout truisms about *la condition humaine*—the deaths of Eline Ormsdatter and, years after, of Erlend, spring to mind at once here—set down with saga grimness and tight-lipped imperturbability that mask, only to enhance, the volcanic emotion raging within. And, everywhere, like winter snow over upland granite fells, there lies over her work the serene and inexorable pre-Christian quality Belloc once called the Northern Peace.

Madame Undset's work is strong in those two Scandinavian specialties, affectionate insight into children and lyric command over weather and landscape. In English literature only Wessex Hardy and Scottish Scott are in any way like her. Her organic use of nature is not unlike Hardy's; her acceptance of the traditional supernatural is something like Scott's. But her power of empathy is, if possible, more highly developed even than Hardy's, and her mythopoeic faculty more natural than Scott's. A troll is a troll to her; not a charming piece of folklore. She has seen their grotesque shadows in her own mountains; she has met the Elf Maiden on her own *saeter* pasture.

One of the miracles of her accomplishment is to have reconciled in art two clashing planes of human experience: the plane of serene acceptance; the plane of passionate conviction and no less passionate protest. Her acceptance is as enormous as Shakespeare's or Tolstoy's, and almost as avid as Balzac's. She was a glutton for the real. But not even Mr. Greene or Monsieur Mauriac can exceed her spiritual intensity in the seven medieval volumes. The natural man smells rank in her pages—as he should; for, as Newman reminds us, man "is sure to sin; and his literature will be the expression of his sin." He also smells sweet and sound as a nut. For Fru Undset is, at one and the same time, the Poet Laureate and rhadamanthine judge of sin, and the celebrant of natural joy. In this dual function she stands alone in modern letters. For her, literature is not only epiphany; it is incarnation.

Always one returns to her brooding love for the human thing. It was said of Ibsen that he knew everything about his characters even down to the history of his imagined General Gabler's imagined pistols. Fru Undset is not much like her great countryman. She is like him in this. During her residence in this country the novelist was gracious enough to annotate in her own handwriting a thesis written about her work by a graduate student from Buffalo, now deceased, Willert Klass. The document in question is among the treasured holdings of the Canisius College Library. At one point in his dissertation Mr. Klass had made the remark that to her "the main interest in life had been the philosophical in all its implications"; and on

the margin is now scrawled this underlined passionate remonstrance: "No! Human relationships and the fates of men and women!"

Her letters reveal the four-square personality, warm-hearted, honest homely, that in Sigrid Undset—if not in many artists—always underlay the genius. As I write there are several of these letters before me, sent me from her Brooklyn hotel that faced on the Atlantic and, over thousands of stormy leagues of water, on her conquered Norway. In them she speaks of America: how she admired it; how she was overwhelmed by the physical beauty of the countryside; how she enjoyed St. Ansgar's League; how she did not care for the *Reader's Digest*—"every article looks as if it had been written by the same hand." Her letters to Willert Klass are especially interesting. In one of the them she describes how her first excursus into saga fiction about the Viking age, the early, darkly perfect *Gunnar's Daughter*, was bound up with her sense of Norse history "from the silent memorials of our neolithic past to the age of electric power and motors."

So, for instance, the idea of Viga-Ljot and Vigdis came to me one night, when I had to run on skis alone some seventeen English miles through the forests north of Oslo. . . . In the dark I hit a wrong trail that led to nowhere, had to turn back and decided to sit it out somewhere up on the hill and wait for the moon, which was due to rise some time after midnight. . . . Down in the valley a barn had caught fire—it looked weird, and it came home to me how, beneath the sights and activities of daytime, our country is unchanged and unchangeable, and how it must always be a timeless ingredient in our national psyche to feel fear and fight it, how mutual voluntary assistance and uncompromising resistance to any kind of force must always have been a condition of our survival.

There you have the very essence of her novels. Night and the northern forest and the brooding mind. Fire and flame, and a hero's hall burning. And an iron ethic. Years later, just prior to her fifty-ninth birthday, she was to lie out on the snow again and watch the flames burning Dombas. Even in Norway there is no snow lying on the fjords in June; but there will be once more while it is still golden autumn in America. Till then she lies under the northern stars of Bjornson's saga-night—*den saga nott som senker drømme paa vaar jord*: that sinks dream-like on the northland. Death is terrible and majestic. But, somehow, it is like a chord of great music when the great pass. Longfellow heard it once in one of the least known and best of American poems:

"What was that?" said Olaf, standing

On the quarter-deck.

"Something heard I like the stranding
Of a shattered wreck."

Einar then, the arrow taking

From the loosened string,

Answered, "That was Norway breaking
From thy hand, O King!"

She will not be lonely in a higher hall than Husaby. Others have gone before her: Olaf and Eric and Canute; Bridget; Sunniva of Seljefjord. The saga of saints is just beginning. *Gud signe Norge's land og Norge's datter, Sigrid!*

Power, unlimited

NINETEEN EIGHTY-FOUR

By George Orwell. Harcourt Brace. 314p. \$3

One lays down *Nineteen Eighty-Four* with the disquieting feeling that not only can the world of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* grow out of the world of 1949, but that we may even be witnessing the early stages of its growth.

As I write, the web is being woven around Archbishop Beran of Prague as it was woven around Cardinal Mindszenty. Records are being falsified, "confessions" prepared, the nice legalities of the trial are being worked out, the press is being primed with the proper stories in the proper language. The news-gathering agencies of the world will send the reports over the wires; and it is a safe bet that nothing in the news reports will lead you to understand that what they are reporting is really the fact that a brave man has fallen into the hands of a pack of liars, thieves and murderers. One might almost say that in the sources of public information the words no longer exist by which such a truth could be reported. It is all straight out of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, except that instead of being world-wide it covers only about one-third of the world. That much comfort we have; and also the fact that, compared to The Party of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, our present totalitarians are relative amateurs.

A certain progression can be traced—leading to *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Hitler denounced the Jews as money-grabbers, perverters of public morals, enemies of the people, a subhuman species. He was lying and he knew it. But "money-grabber" meant money-grabber; "pervert" meant pervert; there was no obscurity about his meaning. Came the Communists, and with them semantic corruption. "People's Democracy . . . freedom of speech . . . freedom of religion . . . human rights . . ."—since the words are still current, they must be emptied of meaning. Then people can go on saying them without revealing, much less changing, the true state of affairs. The next step towards *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and the abolition of inconvenient words has already been taken in part: "liar," "robber" and "murderer" are no longer used of lying, robbing and murdering on a sufficiently large scale. Without the words, the inconvenient ideas they represent do not readily occur to the mind.

Similarly, Hitler was content to revile and exterminate his enemies. The Communists make them incriminate themselves before the world; the Party must, on the victims' own confessions, be always right. The Party of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is not content until it has

stripped the last shred of integrity from its victims; until they not only confess to having sinned, but actually believe it.

The world of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is a squalid, cheerless place, without loyalty, without trust, without hope. A dreary war drags on forever between the three great states that comprise the world—Oceania, Eastasia, Eurasia. None of these states either hopes or expects to conquer the others; none is even trying. The war is not for conquest; it is for the domestic purposes of The Party in each state. It drains off surplus goods and surplus energies which else might go into disturbing domestic order by questioning The Party's omniscience, infallibility and beneficence. In that sense is the slogan of The Party justified: "War is Peace."

In this dreary world lives Winston Smith, an employee of the Ministry of Truth (the function of which is to falsify—or, as it says, to "correct"—the records of the past to show that The Party has always been right). His



life is supervised day and night by the "telescreen"—the two-way television set in every home that is the eyes and ears of The Party. He has a clandestine love affair with one Julia, is tempted to disloyalty by one O'Brien, a high party official, is detected and broken to pieces, body and soul, by the Ministry of Love—whose chief function is torture. The unfolding of this simple plot holds the reader with the fascination of disgust and mounting horror.

"Hell upon earth," though a trite phrase, might almost exactly describe the world of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. The rulers of that world simply desire power. They want power over every human being, over his actions, his words, his feelings, his thoughts. They would abolish all human love, all loyalty; they would be obeyed out of fear; they would rule by hate; only thus can they know that it is indeed their own power, and not the subject's own will, that produces obedience. They are, and want to be, enemies of the human race. CHARLES KEENAN

BOOKS

Course of empire

THE RISE OF RUSSIA IN ASIA

By David J. Dallin. Yale. 293p. \$5

This is not the first time that observers of Soviet affairs owe Mr. Dallin a debt of gratitude. His previous books have penetratingly discussed the Soviet political and social structures, forced labor camps and general foreign policy. In *The Rise of Russia in Asia* and its previously published companion volume, *Soviet Russia and the Far East* (actually the second volume of the study), Mr. Dallin turns the light of his thorough scholarship on Czarist and communist Russia's Asiatic imperialism.

The present volume opens with the arrival of Russia in the Far East, about 1860, and closes in 1931, on the eve of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. Mr. Dallin shows that during the seventy-year interval, Russia's Asiatic policies followed the same pattern of aggression, whether they were planned in the Winter Palace or the Narkomindel.

That pattern is to advance relentlessly against weak opposition, and pause, or even retreat, in the face of strength. The two features which distinguish pre-1917 tactics from today's are differences in ideology and position. Stalin now wields the greatest power in Asia. Communist imperialism on that continent is part of a larger movement to envelop the entire world.

Extremists, whether of the left or right, are usually partisans of a dynamic foreign policy, Mr. Dallin writes. Since communism is certainly even farther to the left than Czarism was to the right, only the blind can fail to understand the grave danger of defending Europe from Soviet machinations while neglecting Asia.

For those in the State Department and elsewhere who believe, or say they believe, that Chinese communism is some sort of indigenous Chinese version of agrarian nationalism and bears only a slight relationship to the Moscow variety, Mr. Dallin offers convincing testimony to the contrary. Chinese communism is Moscow-created and directed, and Mao Tse-tung, its leader, is just as much Stalin's creature as Molotov or Vyshinsky.

There are some, among them Owen Lattimore and Edgar Snow, who warn against irritating the Chinese Reds by offering further help to the Nationalists. Leave Mao Tse-tung alone and in

the long run he'll turn to Titoism. There is also, of course, the possibility that Foster or Dennis will turn against Stalin.

Mr. Dallin's picture of "the situation in Asia" is much more realistic than Mr. Lattimore's in his recently published book of that name, or Mr. Snow's in his *Saturday Evening Post* articles. Both these gentlemen, who advise so strongly that there is nothing to fear if Nationalist China is completely overwhelmed, should know better. Back in 1937 Mr. Snow said, in an article which Mr. Lattimore published in *Pacific Affairs*: "it is clear that the ultimate aim of Chinese Communists is a true and complete socialist state of the Marxist-Leninist conception."

Surely both writers must know what Mr. Dallin reports: the Chinese Communists joined the Comintern in 1922; decisions on the Chinese party have always come from the Russian party's Politburo; Mao is Stalin's personal choice for leadership.

According to Mr. Dallin, the influences regulating Russia's Asiatic advances are three in number. First and greatest is the power vacuum to Russia's east, where huge stretches of territory are so sparsely populated that they have reached only the most rudimentary political development. Secondly, the narrow corridor of Russia's nineteenth-century political power (as opposed to her geographical bounds) in Asia has dictated the direction of later expansion. Lastly, the weakness of China has made that unfortunate country seem an easy victim, while Japan's strength has made Russia step warily.

In the next few years Stalin will probably concentrate Russian activity in the East instead of the West. To understand the nature of those activities, the lessons of history and the prospects for the future, I know nothing better than this cogent interpretation by Mr. Dallin. It is, like all his work, clearly expressed and based on a thorough investigation of source material not readily available to the average Western historian.

LEONARD J. SCHWEITZER

Fiction with a difference

A DIPLOMATIC INCIDENT

By Judith Kelly. Houghton Mifflin. 277p. \$2.75

A decidedly different book—and a welcome relief—is Judith Kelly's *A Diplomatic Incident*. It is pleasing to find a thoroughly readable novel devoid of the dripping, cloying sensuality typical of too much modern writing. Profanity is almost altogether absent, too, except for a few heated words of the small-time politician, Bannerman.

Although a novel and avowedly

purely a product of the author's imagination, *A Diplomatic Incident* is a most engrossing and realistic study in character and international event. It reads rapidly but calls for close attention. Conversation—brilliant, guarded, carefully thought-out, effective, pointed, fearless—is aptly interspersed with enough narrative to make understanding easy. Description is vivid, especially that of the grand-scale living of old John Wilson as contrasted with the simpler tastes of his son.

The handling of the contending forces in the novel—the United States and Russia—bespeaks a wide knowledge and an intelligent insight on the part of the author. The intrigue, the spying and the counter-spying are fascinating.

Taking precedence over all this, however, is the success of its characterization. John Wilson, the old and tried American diplomat, is delightful; equally charming is his dreamer-musician son, Gannett, now turned politician-with-a-purpose. The Russians are convincing, although their "broken" English often falls a little flat. Minor characters, including the long-departed members of the Wilson family, are real factors in the dénouement.

This is a book which should reach a deservedly top rank in the best-sellers' list.

CATHERINE D. GAUSE

From the Editor's shelves

PLANNING YOUR HAPPY MARRIAGE, by Daniel A. Lord, S.J. (Queen's Work. \$3). The basis of all the author's vivid observations is the cardinal principle that marriage enriches human life—the entire personal lives of the wedded couple, the lives of their children and of society in general. Such enrichment pertains solely to mentally and emotionally mature people, reviewer *David W. Twomey*, points out, adding that "one will have to read very widely to find as discerning an analysis of the content of maturity as presented in this book." Father Lord exposes the folly of those who merely marry a body without enough thought of the character that directs the muscles—"a character which may be a blade of steel, a chunk of rubber hose, a length of moist macaroni." He treats also the more-than-private importance of marriage, its nature as the most solemn of contracts, the deplorable waste or ignorance of the rich graces of this sacrament.

THE CHARITY OF THE STARS, by John Heath-Stubbs (Sloane. \$2.50); QUEST, by Students and Alumnae of Mundelein College. Reviewer *Francis Sweeney* applauds this significant and rewarding selection of poems from Heath-Stubbs' first four books. The brilliant young poet makes fresh use of the traditional

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THE COMPLETE ROSARY, by Maurice B. Kennedy (Ziff Davis. \$3). For those who love the Rosary and those who do not yet know it, suggests reviewer *Harold J. Oppido*, this short devotional treatise will be of value. It begins with the history of the Rosary, treats its importance in modern times, teaches

the proper method of recitation and develops the story of each mystery. There is an account of the many indulgences connected with this devotion.

WHERE THE MOMENT WAS, by Henry McLaughlin (Farrar Straus. \$2.75). Lean, spare verses of a New York Shropshire Lad for whom, like Keats, life was poisoned porridge. Henry McLaughlin died in Manila two years ago, of diabetes, at the age of twenty-nine, leaving evidence in his poems that he was approaching an understanding that the Christian poet cannot unsnarl life's riddles under the Golden Bough but only in the shadow of the *dulce lignum*. "Distinguished by an exquisite

sense of melody, by laconic epigram and a flair for remote sense of melody," is the judgment of *Francis Sweeney, S.J.* on the verses, whose irony and sadness and dimly-glimpsed peace underline the tragedy of a poet dying young.

EPICURUS MY MASTER, by Max Radin (University of North Carolina Press. \$2.75). A reconstruction of the life of Pomponius Atticus, the wealthy Epicurean who lived in the most tumultuous days of Rome, must be based on Nepos' account and fragments of Cicero's Letters. Reviewer *Edwin A. Quain* points this out as the reason why Radin's imagination bore the burden of building this biography of the rich confidant of all parties in struggles for political power. Atticus remains enigmatic, as even Radin seems puzzled as to whether he found happiness in life. This essentially unfinished portrait will contribute little to a search for the constructive principles that made Western civilization.

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THE WORD

And Simon, answering, said to Him: Master, we have labored all the night, and have taken nothing, but at Thy word I will let down the net. And when they had done this, they enclosed a very great multitude of fishes; and their net broke: and they beckoned to their partners that were in the other ship, that they should come and help them; and they came, and filled both the ships, so that they were almost sinking. . . .

"The net's broken now," I said to Joe and Betty.

Betty, as usual, waited. Joe spoke quickly. "What do you mean, Dad?"

"So many people are coming into the Church that we're running short of priests and sisters."

"Where?"

I gestured all-embracingly. "Japan, especially. Whole towns are becoming Catholic there. But other places, too—Africa, India, China . . ."

"China?" The voice was Betty's. "I thought China was going communist."

I shook my head. "No country has ever gone communist. Not even Russia. No country will ever go communist. What happens is that communism is shoved down people's throats with bayonets. It's always a gangster thing. It's never popular. It's never democratic, never what the people want. That's why they call it 'people's democracy.'"

Joe wrinkled his brow, and said

again: "What do you mean? If it isn't that, why do they call it that?"

"To try to fool us," I said. "But we were talking about the net breaking."

There was a little silence. Finally Joe said: "Dad, are you telling us I ought to be a priest, and Betty a sister?"

"God needs you," I answered.

Joe asked the \$64 question: "But what if we don't want to be a priest and a sister? What if we get married and have kids?"

I studied them: Betty, aged eleven; Joe, aged nine. Rather young to be so consistent in their determination to "get married and have kids." Oh, well—time will tell.

"If marriage is your vocation," I told them, "then be a partner."

This time Betty had the first word. "Tell us about that."

I read to them: "'And their net broke: and they beckoned to their partners that were in the other ship, that they should come and help them. . . .'"

I smiled at the earnest young faces. "That's what the Church is doing now," I said. "The bishops and priests are beckoning to their partners—the rest of us. They call it Catholic Action. Catholic Action is all of us helping the Pope and bishops and priests to save souls."

They considered. "That's a good idea," said Betty.

I nodded. "Even so, the net is still breaking," I told her. "We still need a lot of people who will do as Peter and James and John did."

"What?" asked Joe.

"'And having brought their ships to land,' I read, 'leaving all things they followed Him.'" JOSEPH A. BREIG

PARADE

AS THE LITTLE FIGURE IN A TOY-store window jerk into animation and strut to and fro when the shop opens for the day's business, so, after a fashion, did the human beings in the great show window of life spring into action and movement when the week commenced writing a new page of history. . . . A peep into life's show window reveals the human activity therein. . . . In London, a wife testified that her husband taught their four-year-old son to pinch, bite and kick her. While the boy kicked her, she declared, her spouse would exclaim: "Go on, son, harder." The judge granted her a divorce, gave her custody of the son. . . . Complaints about capital punishment were heard. . . . In Berlin, a German executioner, claiming that at \$320 an execution he could not make ends meet, put on his headsman's mask and robbed a woman. . . . Emerging were scenes that looked like the make-believe pageantry of window-dressers, but were not. . . . In Troy, N. Y., men attired in evening clothes climbed ladders, dashed around a roof as they battled a spectacular fire. They were firemen summoned from a fireman's ball. . . . Pistol shots shattered the predawn silence. . . . In Columbus, O., a policeman, checking buildings through the night, found a door open. Entering the building, he glimpsed what seemed like a big man about to attack him. Yanking out his revolver, he fired four shots at the big fellow, blasted a full-length mirror. . . . Dissatisfaction with bucolic facilities was voiced. . . . A young woman in rural Oklahoma forwarded to her State Senator the following letter: "I am about to grow up to be an old maid out here on the farm, for even though my boy friend has a jeep, he is unable to get through the mud to my house. Twice lately my boy friend has been obliged to stand me up so perhaps you might use your influence to help Dan Cupid along, for with better road conditions Prince Charming could always get through to here."

The element of make-believe characteristic of the toy figures was absent from life's show window, for the human be-



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ings did not act aimlessly but had definite objectives in view. . . . In New York, an aircraft corporation received from a convict in the Illinois State Penitentiary the following inquiry: "How long a warm-up period is required for a helicopter? What is the down payment? Will it carry two people and 600 pounds of baggage 1,000 miles?" . . . Other examples of purposeful activity erupted. . . . In Atlanta, while a citizen was taking a nap in a railroad station, someone stole his brand-new shoes right off his feet, left a worn-out pair nearby. . . . Pent-up emotions were released. . . . In Elizabeth, N. J., late at night, a young man with a bleeding hand, who was sitting alone in his auto behind a smashed windshield, told questioning police that he was waiting for his wife and that he had punched the windshield under the influence of impatience.

Between the activities of the toy figures and that of the human beings there exists a tremendous difference. . . . No angels, good or bad, record the happenings in a toy-store window, for the little mechanical figures have no eternal significance. . . . The human happenings, on the contrary, are watched closely, night and day, by talent scouts from both heaven and hell, for the eternal destiny of each human being depends on how he develops in life's great show window.

JOHN A. TOOMEY

FILMS

ANY NUMBER CAN PLAY consists of a very slim plot revolving around a great big, colorful, Clark Gable role. Played, naturally enough, by Mr. Gable, the center of attraction is one Charlie Kyng, a big-time gambling impresario in a State where gambling is legal. Charlie, as the picture goes to great pains to demonstrate, is a fabulous character. He is generous, gregarious, courageous, scrupulously honest, well-adjusted and infinitely attractive. His employees adore him, the gaming table regulars, whose ambition is to break his bank, are none the less his friends; and a couple of wealthy women are crazy about him (in a perfectly nice way of course). Though these circumstances suggest a full and happy life, Charlie has his problems. One is the occupational hazards of his profession, which exacts about ten times as much nervous strain as the career of a stock broker or a high-pressure salesman. As a result, he is feeling the first twinges of angina and has been medically advised to cultivate the simple life.

The other is domestic, and involves a slight estrangement from his wife (Alexis Smith) and a complete break with his young son (Darryl Hickman), whose disapproval of his father stems from social snobbery rather than ethical principle. In the course of one eventful evening—which features a run on the bank and an armed hold-up, and demonstrates Charlie's masterly handling of a dozen or so trying situations—a happy solution to all the difficulties is worked out. *Adults* will find the gambling atmosphere interesting, some individual episodes stimulating and well done, and the production handsome. Whether these will compensate for a story about as substantial as quick-silver and single-mindedly dedicated to the task of keeping its star on a pedestal willy-nilly, is an open question. (MGM)

TAKE ONE FALSE STEP signalizes William Powell's return to the ranks of the amateur sleuths. He plays a respected and highly respectable educator who is forced by the laws of self-preservation to turn detective when, following a chance encounter with a persistent and psychopathic flame from his bachelor days (Shelley Winters), the lady disappears in an atmosphere of foul play, with himself as chief suspect. Obviously writer-director Chester Erskine had it in mind to satirize the recent epidemic of quasi-detective melodramas, so the exaggeration of Miss Winters' *femme fatale* was probably intentional. However, *adults* will likely find the picture's entertainment value considerably diminished by an abundance of violence and some rank improbabilities which show no signs of having been conceived with tongue in cheek. (Universal-International)

THE RED MENACE introduces the personnel of a fictional communist cell, gives a graphic and violent account of the more obvious moral and material disadvantages of party affiliation, and contrives the total disintegration of the cell as affection for the American way of life, violent death, insanity and the FBI variously overtake its members. Because of its timely and serious theme, this lurid, low-budget melodrama will probably get widespread publicity and approbation. But so far as I am concerned, its propaganda value is dubious, to say the least. Presupposing an audience uninformed enough to find the film's elementary exposition of communist philosophy and policy new and startling, and naive enough to take its comic-book oversimplifications (and consequently distortions) of motive and character seriously, I fear that the misconceptions they will carry away will be somewhat more unfortunate than a state of total ignorance. (Republic)

MOIRA WALSH

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